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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

Of the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

IN presenting to the State Colonization Society, their sixth annual report, the Board of Managers feel themselves called upon to acknowledge with humble gratitude, the favour, which, during the past year, has been vouchsafed to their labours by a wise, merciful, and over-ruling Providence. In the brief period of the Society's existence, this has ever been the case; but never has it been so evident as in the last twelve months, not only in the situation of the colony, but also in the state of feeling in Maryland, among those who are the immediate objects of the State Society's exertions.

Since the date of the last annual report, the Board have lost two of their most valuable members. Peter Hoffman, Esq. died in Baltimore, on the 12th day of May last, and Charles Carrol Harper, Esq. died in France, near Paris, on the 23d of June, following. Both of these gentlemen were Vice-Presidents of the society, and were also among its founders. They were among the earliest friends of colonization in this State, and the records of the American Colonization Society shew how diligent they were in the prosecution of the interests of that institution, before the State Society was formed. Mr. Hoffman, and his two brothers, one the first president of the Society, the other its treasurer, all now dead, were surpassed by none in the zeal and great liberality which they manifested on all occasions in the cause of colonization. Mr. Harper, inheriting from his father his attachment to the scheme, devoted to it talents of the highest order, and as its advocate before the people, and as its supporter in the legislature of the State, rendered to it the most important services.

During the year just ended, the Board of Managers have despatched their eighth and ninth expeditions to Maryland in Liberia. The brig Baltimore sailed on the 17th May, with fifty-five emigrants, and on the 28th November, the Niobe, which had carried out the fall expedition

of 1836, sailed on her second voyage with eighty-five emigrants more, making one hundred and forty persons added to the population of the colony, since the date of the last annual report.

A part of the expense of the spring expedition by the Baltimore, was borne out of the funds received from Mrs. Emily H. Tubman, the widow of Richard Tubman, Esq., formerly of Maryland, but at the time of his decease a resident of Georgia. Mr. Tubman had, by his last will left his slaves free, on condition they would emigrate to Africa; and bequeathed the sum of ten thousand dollars for their removal to and settlement in that country. Mrs. Tubman, desirous of carrying into effect the provisions of her husband's will, made application to the Board of Managers to receive her people into the colony of Maryland in Liberia, offering to pay their passage, and to give them such outfits as the Board of Managers might suggest as necessary and proper. It being found upon inquiry, that the proposed emigrants were of an exemplary character, honest, sober and industrious, all of them accustomed to agriculture, and most of the males acquainted with some trade, and the Board being especially moved by the consideration, that experienced cotton planters would be of the greatest service in enabling the Board to carry out their design of making that article a chief staple of the colony—the wishes of Mrs. Tubman were acceded to, and her people were sent by her to Baltimore, in time to join the Maryland emigrants of the spring expedition. On their arrival here, their appearance fully corroborated all that had been reported of them; and the Board hazard little in saying, that when the Baltimore sailed, it carried out morally and physically one of the best and strongest, as well as the most thoroughly furnished expeditions, that had yet left the United States for Africa. After ample provision had been made for the wants of Mrs. Tubman's servants, as well as their passage to Africa paid, there still remained a large sum unexpended of their late master's bounty, which is now in the hands of his executors to be appropriated in such manner, as future intelligence from Africa may shew to be best calculated to fulfil the intentions of the noble individual from whom it was derived.

The Board would do injustice to their feelings did they not here express the high satisfaction which they have derived from their intercourse with Mrs. Tubman, and their admiration of the excellent and most praiseworthy spirit that she has manifested, in executing a will which deprived her of so large and valuable a property as the servants in question.

The Board make this statement thus prominent in their report, that they may correct an impression which has prevailed among some of their friends, that the funds raised in Maryland, and applicable by the constitution of the Society and the laws under which they are derived, to the use, exclusively, of emigrants from the State, had been appropriated to the removal of the emigrants from Georgia. Every cent expended for this purpose, even to the freight of the goods sent out for the use of Mrs. Tubman's servants in Africa, has been paid in the most liberal manner, by Mr. Tubman's executors.

The emigrants who sailed in the fall expedition were all from Maryland, and were in nearly every instance persons of excellent character, and well considered in the neighbourhoods from which they removed. The

greater part of them were agriculturists—some few were mechanics—all had been accustomed to labour, all embarked with a full conviction that their happiness and prosperity in Africa could only be secured by the exercise of a resolute and untiring spirit, and a willingness to undergo the toils which are necessarily incident to the condition of the early settlers in a new country. It has heretofore been the constant aim of the Board, to send such persons only in their expeditions, as would add to the effective physical force of the colony—to send more males than females, and to send none who could not either take care of and provide for themselves, or, who were not in company with others who would prevent them from being a dead weight on the community. This policy the Board have conceived to be the true one in the early periods of the colony. It may slightly retard the very rapid increase of population there at first, but the community, formed with the care thus taken, advances with a steadier and firmer step now: and will, hereafter, possess a strength which will enable it to receive without injury to it, that indiscriminate emigration which at present would but serve to retard its progress, if not cripple it past cure. The well-known maxim of *festina lente*, is applicable to nothing more than to colonization in its incipient stages. Besides the considerations thus suggested in respect to the selection of emigrants, the Board have endeavoured to obtain those who were accustomed to agricultural pursuits in this country; for, if the experience of the Board has proved any one thing more incontrovertibly than another, it has been the wisdom of the policy with which they commenced their operations, and which, keeping general native trade in the hands of the society, made agriculture the main, and indeed, except in the case of mechanics, the sole occupation of the colonists. Collisions with the natives incident to a trade with them are thus avoided by the early settlers; and they are also saved from the demoralizing influences which a petty native traffic has hitherto in other situations invariably exercised.

In the report heretofore made by the Board of Managers, reference has been had to the existence of a feeling among the colored people of the state, adverse to emigration to Africa, and the agents of the Society, in their attempts to procure emigrants, have been always annoyed by an opposition, the source of which, it was difficult to ascertain. Upon arriving in a neighbourhood to be visited, the agent would address himself at once to the free colored people, and explain to them the design of colonization, and make statements in regard to Africa, its climate, soil and productions, and the privileges granted by the Society to those who emigrated to the colony. In most instances, the persons thus addressed, would hear with kindness what was told them by the agent; many would express a willingness to emigrate, and some would at once, put their names upon the list for the next expedition. In this situation would the agent leave them, and after completing his round, would return to assist those whom he had first visited and who proposed to emigrate, in making their preparations. But in every instance, he would find that an antagonist had been at work in his absence, and that the minds of the colored people had in the interval been filled with ideas, which it was difficult, if not impossible to eradicate in the time that he could devote to the purpose: that calumnies and falsehoods,

prepared with art, and suited to the prejudices of those for whom they were intended, had been uttered by persons, whom it was impossible to identify, and who could only be traced in their course, by the mischief they had done. It seemed at last to the agent, and was so reported by him to the Board of Managers, as though abolition, instead of seeking openly to make converts in Maryland, had endeavoured to promote its views by watching, following and counteracting the agents of the Colonization Society. This state of things however, has been gradually changing, and the last expedition of eighty-five persons, all from Maryland, gives evidence of a spirit among the people of color, that promises as large and constant an emigration, as the means placed at the disposal of the managers of the state fund, with such as can be obtained from individual benevolence, will enable the State Society to meet. The number of applications for passage to the colony, in the beginning of November, exceeded indeed both the means of transportation, and the number which the Board thought it politic to send. This number was limited to one hundred—the fifteen who did not join the expedition, were detained by causes beyond their control; but are now engaged in perfecting the arrangements, which will enable them to go out in the spring. From the intelligence in the possession of the Board, they have every reason to believe, that should they otherwise, be in a condition to send a vessel to Cape Palmas in May next, they will have as many emigrants as it will be proper to take; many of them too, persons who have accumulated property in this State, and who will add not only their means, but their excellent moral character, to the colony. The Board indeed trust that the violence of opposition from those, most interested in their labours has so far diminished, as to offer no serious obstacle, hereafter, to the prosecution of the plan of colonization from the State.

In their previous reports, the Board of Managers have intimated what it may not be out of place here to repeat, the views entertained by them of the ultimate operation of the colonization plan, so far as it is connected with the removal from this country, of the people of color, and such as may be made free, with their own consent, to Africa. Did the Board think, for one instant, that this was to be accomplished only by the contributions of states, societies or individuals, to be appropriated to the chartering of vessels, and the procuring of emigrants, they would at once abandon the cause as utterly and irretrievably desperate. But this is not the opinion entertained by them.

The Board of Managers think that Colonization never can be accomplished until it shall become evident to the colored people of this country, that it is their *interest* to emigrate to Africa. The Board think that when this interest shall become apparent to them, the work will go forward independent, entirely of pecuniary assistance from societies or individuals here. The emigration that takes place from Europe to America is now treble in numbers to the increase of the whole colored population of the United States. These emigrants come here with their own means; there are no societies to pay their passages; their removal costs nothing to the country from which they come. They come, because it is more attractive to come to America than to stay at home. They come, because they think it their *interest* to come; and

having determined to come, they find the means themselves of doing so. The Board of Managers believe that it should be the main object of Colonization to create the same state of feeling among the free colored people of this country in regard to Africa, that pervades the bosoms of the foreigners who annually seek our shores. And the Board think that Colonization Societies, State, and individual patronage, are competent to this, although wholly inadequate to furnish the sum necessary to pay for the removal of the entire colored population. A sum comparatively small is sufficient to found a colony, and to plant there a prosperous and happy population of some thousand souls: the news of whose happiness and prosperity, reaching this country, will entice to the home of their fathers, thousands on thousands of those upon whom the intelligence will produce the same effect as the news of the high price of labor here, and the ease with which land is acquired produces upon the European emigrant.—When it is considered too, how much stronger are the inducements for the colored man to remove from America, where every avenue to political importance is closed to him, than the inducements acting upon the European to leave a country where all those avenues are open, it can hardly be doubted, that when the colonies in Africa increase in strength and importance, the tide of emigration from this country will set in that direction, even more strongly than that tide now sets from Europe to America.

Entertaining these views, the Board of Managers cannot too highly applaud the course pursued by the Managers of the state fund, whose aim, now fully accomplished, has been to prepare in the best manner, a spot on the coast of Africa, to which, without restriction, that emigration from the State can take place which will fulfil the wise purposes indicated by the State's legislation on the subject.

In the spring expedition, by the Baltimore, the Protestant Episcopal Church sent out three missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Payne and wife, and the Rev. Mr. Minor. There are now three missionary establishments at Cape Palmas. The Presbyterian mission, consisting of the Rev. J. L. Wilson and wife, a printer and several colored teachers. The Protestant Episcopal Mission, consisting of the above named persons, and Dr. Savage, who is at the head of the establishment; and the Methodist Episcopal mission in charge of the Rev. Mr. Burns. The Methodist Protestant Church have an agent in the colony, in view of preparing for a missionary establishment by that denomination of christians. The missionary force collected at Cape Palmas, is stronger, it is believed, than at any other point on the coast, and makes the settlement, in the words of a recent visiter, the 'Serampore of Africa.' The value of the missionary settlements, in and about the Colony, is duly appreciated by the Board; the influence exercised by them, both upon the natives and the emigrants, is highly beneficial, and has upon more than one occasion, prevented difficulty between the two. The Board will lose no opportunity of promoting the increase of missionary labor in their settlements, deeming the obligations conferred upon the society, a full equivalent for any aid which the Society or its agents may have it in their power to bestow.

The Society are fully aware that temperance and agriculture are two subjects to which in the government of the Colony the attention of the Board has been most steadily and anxiously directed. Their laws in

regard to temperance, are it is believed, most strictly observed, and, as was evident in a recent case that came to the knowledge of the Board, are sustained by the strong good feeling of the community. The Board has been gratified to find the ease with which this most important principle has been established. With but limited influence in Africa, the agents of the Society there, have found it impossible wholly, to prevent rum being used among the surrounding natives, as a part of the trade carried on with them by other than the colonists: but the Board have every reason to believe, that before long, and as their settlement extends, the temperance principle will come to be recognized as a part of the fundamental law, not only by the emigrants, but by the natives around.

The agricultural operations of the colonists, are going forward with as much diligence as could be expected. On the occasion of the visit of the Potomac frigate, she was fully supplied with vegetables and fresh provisions by the colonists. The Board let no opportunity pass of urging upon the agent the necessity of keeping the surveys ahead of the emigration, of removing the new comers on their arrival, at once to the farm lands, and of aiding them in getting their lots under cultivation and their houses built upon them. The Baltimore carried out funds to purchase jacks and jennies at the Cape de Verds, where eleven were bought and safely landed at Cape Palmas. There are already several horses in the settlement, with every prospect of an increasing and valuable stock. The native oxen have been broken to the yoke, and though small in size, have answered the purposes of agriculture and draft, better than was expected. A full supply of ploughs has been sent out; also, cart-wheels, and a mill to be turned by horse power. Indeed nothing has been omitted, which in the opinion of the Board might foster and promote an agricultural spirit among the colonists.

By the fall expedition the Board transmitted to the colony a code of laws, that, for the last two years, had been in the hands of a committee, and which was finally matured by the aid of the experience which the Board had acquired since the settlement was made. It includes the charter which was granted to the first emigrants by the Ann, and the ordinance then adopted for the temporary government of the colony. The first of these confirmed to the emigrants and their descendants, the same rights and privileges that are to be found in the constitutions of most of the States of the Union. The latter, based upon the celebrated ordinance for the government of the Northwest territory, gave the colonists the elements of a civil and penal code, defining the laws of succession to property, establishing a judiciary, and enumerating and fixing the duties of the officers of the Society in Africa. The principal and most important part, however, of the code now transmitted, is the ordinance for the redress of grievances, accompanied by a most ample collection of forms, which have been prepared with great learning and skill by Hugh D. Evans, Esq., who as chairman of the committee also superintended the publication of the volume. The colonists are now furnished with a code of laws, that renders them independent of reference to the complicated systems of this country.

During the last year, the Board received a communication from the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, proposing the adoption of a system which would unite the Societies already existing in this country, and their colonies in Africa under one head,—the

American Colonization Society. To the proposition thus made, the Board gave their most serious and respectful attention; but not being convinced of the propriety of the measure—seeing nothing in the reasons urged to shake their conviction of the superior merits of the plan of independent state action, which had been adopted in Maryland, and believing that the plan was wholly premature, if not entirely inapplicable so far as Africa was concerned, the proposition was declined, and the reasons of the Board respectfully and at length reported to the Society at Washington.

In the last Annual Report the Board indicated the subject of education in Africa, as one which they were very desirous should be taken up by the female friends of colonization. The Board are happy to announce the formation, since then, of a Society in Baltimore, called 'The Ladies' Society for the promotion of education in Africa,' through whose agency sufficient funds have been raised to employ a teacher, and his wife. Mr. Alleyne, the teacher, and his wife, who are in many respects most admirably adapted to their situation, sailed in the fall expedition, with an excellent outfit, also furnished by the Ladies' Society. The judicious instructions that have been given to them, if carried into effect, as it is expected that they will be, must make them most valuable acquisitions to the colony. The Board trust that the Society which has thus been formed, will not be suffered to languish for want of that share of the public patronage that it richly deserves.

In the last report, the Board announced that they had appointed a citizen of Maryland in Liberia, J. B. Russwurm, Esq., governor of the colony, and they gave at length the reasons that influenced them in so doing. They are happy to be able to state, that the experience of the year has corroborated their policy in this respect, and that the inconveniences which were anticipated have not yet been felt. Mr. Russwurm promises to make for himself a high reputation, and the Board have every reason to be satisfied with their selection.

The relations of the colonists with the natives, have been in the main friendly, the occasional difficulties that occurred being but of short duration. New purchases of territory have been made, and that of Rocktown, the next town to windward, and a very considerable rice market, is deemed most important. The advantages of settlements of civilized men to the natives, and the establishment of schools, in addition to the trifling dash or present, which is given when the treaty is made, are the only considerations for these cessions.

Among the inconveniences experienced in the conduct of affairs in the colony, one of the most troublesome has arisen from the want of a suitable circulating medium. The system of barter, which was necessarily resorted to, threatened to defeat the wishes of the Board in regard to native trade, by forcing each colonist to keep on hand an assortment of goods to exchange for the articles wanted from the natives for the use of his family. It was at first proposed to send small silver coin to the colony, but the information acquired by the committee having the subject in charge, satisfied the Board, that if silver was sent, the first trader that stopped to trade at the Cape, would bring it all off, and that it would be at present impossible to keep a sufficient quantity there, to answer any useful purpose. There were objections to issuing a base

metal which seemed to have considerable weight; and at last, as the subject pressed, the Board determined to send certificates for five, ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred cents, receivable in payment for goods at the public store. To make these intelligible to the natives, there were represented on them, objects to which the natives attached the values represented by the certificates—as for instance, on the five cent certificate, there was a head of tobacco—on the ten cent, a chicken—on the twenty-five cent, a duck—on the fifty cent, two ducks—and on the dollar certificate, a goat. The success of this experiment is not yet known, although it is expected to answer at all events, among the colonists. It will be at once seen, that no view towards profit has influenced the Board in adopting the paper currency here described; for the certificates will be returned to the store as fast as issued, and can only answer the purpose of facilitating exchanges, and breaking up the present system of barter.

In their present report, the Board cannot refrain from expressing the satisfaction which they feel at the success which during the past year has attended colonization in other quarters. The settlements of the American Colonization Society seem to have recovered from the depression occasioned by the native wars around them, which in forcing them to direct their attention to agriculture, by cutting them off from native trade, opened to them, even through present distress, prospects of permanent prosperity. It is gratifying also to the Board to know, that the American Colonization Society's settlement is under the actual government of a colored agent, Mr. Williams, whose success in the management of affairs still further corroborates the Board in the choice of Mr. Russwurm as their agent at Cape Palmas. The settlement of the New York and Pennsylvania Societies is evidently in a flourishing condition, and the Board are gratified to see, that recently, on the addition of Edina to their jurisdiction, the people of the last named place were only admitted as citizens of Bassa Cove, on taking an oath of allegiance recognizing the temperance pledge.

The settlement of Greenville, belonging to the Louisiana and Mississippi Societies, at Sinou rever, has been made, and may be considered now in prosperous operation. The country is described as admirably adapted to the purposes of a settlement, and the agents who have the control of operations in Africa, appear to be sensible and experienced men.

With a view to competent medical skill in the colony, the Board have now under their charge, the son of the assistant agent, S. F. McGill, who is studying the profession of medicine in Vermont. He is an intelligent and persevering young man, and the Board believe, that when he leaves this country on his return to Africa, he will not only be well qualified to practise himself, but be able also to instruct others in his profession.

If funds enough can be obtained for the purpose, the Board propose to send an expedition from Baltimore to Cape Palmas, in May next: and in a short time the agent of the Society will make an appeal to the friends of the colonization cause for assistance: it is hoped that the appeal will not be made in vain.

By order of the Board of Managers.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE, *President.*

Baltimore, December 1837.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE MARYLAND
STATE FUND.*To the Governor and Council of Maryland:*

The Report of the Board of Managers appointed under the second section of an act of Assembly, passed at December session, 1831, chapter 281, entitled an act relating to the people of color of this State, respectfully represents:—

The number of persons of color removed from Maryland to Africa, during the past year, has been one hundred and forty. They have been all sent to the settlement of the Maryland State Colonization Society, called Maryland in Liberia.

Hitherto great opposition has been encountered among the free people of color to remove to Africa; and with every effort that they have been able to make, neither the agent of the Board, nor the agent of the State Society, have succeeded at times in removing the impressions against colonization, created by the calumnies of its enemies.

It is the opinion of the agents, and many well-judging and observing citizens of the counties in the State, that this condition of things was owing to the active, but secret efforts of the abolitionists; who considering, as it is well known they do, that colonization, if successful, must destroy their wild and impracticable schemes, have sedulously devoted themselves to follow and defeat the agents of the Board of Managers and the State Society, as the best mode of forwarding their views and plans in a State where public opinion and the strong feelings of the community would not tolerate, for an instant, the open promulgation of their doctrines. The importance of the colonization plan is made the more evident by these efforts of the abolitionists to paralyze its operations.

Within the last year, a great change has evidently taken place in several of the counties, among the free people of color: and when the last expedition was in preparation, there were upwards of one hundred and twenty applicants for a passage to the colony, eighty-five of whom were sent. The greater part of the remainder were prevented, by want of time, from getting ready—but with many others, are preparing now to embark in the spring. The agent reports, that, hereafter, he expects to be able, to obtain as many emigrants as it will be desirable to send in any one year.

The Board attribute this change wholly to the labors of the agents, and to the success of the Maryland colony in Africa. The Board believe that in proportion as the colonization scheme becomes known, will the willingness of the free people of color to emigrate increase. They believe that the unwillingness, heretofore, and still existing, is to be traced to the dissemination of abolition doctrines.

By the act appointing them, the Board were authorized 'from time to time to make such preparations at the colony of Liberia, or elsewhere, as they may think best, which shall seem to them expedient for the reception and accommodation and support of the persons to be removed, until they can be enabled to support themselves.'

In carrying the act of 1831 into effect, so far as it depended upon

them, the Board found it absolutely necessary to use the authority given by the act as above quoted, and provide a place for the reception of emigrants from Maryland. This, with the aid of the State Colonization Society, has been done. The colony of Maryland in Liberia was founded February 22d, 1834. Its population is now near four hundred souls. The soil is inexhaustibly productive. The climate is genial to the colored emigrant—subsistence is easily obtained—and comfort and competence are the rewards of industry. A salutary system of laws is in operation: and the advantages of the situation have attracted to it the attention of the religious community, until it has become the most important and largest missionary establishment in Africa.

The Board are therefore able now to report, that a settlement on the coast of Africa, under the exclusive control of the State Society, and for the use of emigrants from Maryland, has been firmly made, which is competent to receive any number of emigrants which it is probable can be sent to it, with the means appropriated by the State, or derived from the contributions of individuals: and also that there is the appearance of such a feeling among the people of color as will keep up a constant tide of emigration hereafter.

The settlement has been made by the State Society, upon whom all the complicated duties connected with its government devolve. It has been made with an economy unexampled in the history of similar undertakings, and at an expense to the State, much less than if the Board had established it, under the law, without the intervention of the State Society; for this last has added to the funds obtained from the Board, a large amount of individual subscriptions, all applied to the same object. The Board present herewith the Annual Report of the State Society, in which the situation and prospects of the colony are given in detail.

The Board have endeavored to conduct their operations in the State upon the most prudent and economical plan. They employ an agent and a clerk, who are the only persons receiving salaries connected with the disbursements of the State Fund, the services of the Board being gratuitous. The State Society employ another agent who is paid by them out of collections made from individual benevolence, and is therefore no charge upon the fund.

The account current connected with this report, exhibits the expenditures of the Board, and their objects.

When the colonization laws, as they are generally termed, were first adopted, the want of a place to which the free people of color and emancipated slaves might emigrate, furnished reasons why they should not be carried into full effect. This reason no longer exists, and it will be for the Legislature to determine upon such additional measures, if any be necessary, to give full efficiency to the system adopted in 1831. Public opinion should particularly be brought to bear upon the subject; and if the residents of the different counties in the State would take the matter in hand, the immigration of free people of color from other States, or the introduction of slaves into Maryland from thence, or the residence here of slaves, manumitted on condition of removal, could be much more effectually prevented, than it can be by the efforts of a Board of Managers, who, to accomplish these objects, would have to

employ more agents than the whole annual appropriation to the colonization fund would be sufficient to compensate.

The number of persons manumitted during the past year, as reported to the Board, has been two hundred and four, including those whose freedom is prospective. The number previously reported was thirteen hundred and seventy-seven, making the total number reported, fifteen hundred and eighty-one, since the enactment of the law of December, 1831.

All which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES HOWARD,
WM. R. STUART,
FRANKLIN ANDERSON.

Baltimore, December 20, 1837.

REMARKS OF THE HON. JAMES GARLAND, OF VIRGINIA,

Delivered before the American Colonization Society, on the second evening of their annual meeting, the 13th of December, 1837.

MR. PRESIDENT: I come from a slaveholding State, and from the midst of a slaveholding people. I was once a member of a Colonization Society auxiliary to this. I was its warm and ardent advocate, until the fanatical spirit of the Northern abolitionists manifested itself in a tone and in a strength which threatened the personal security as well as the rights of property of the Southern People. I then became jealous; I strongly suspected that this Society, looking beyond its professed objects, was secretly abetting the schemes of these fanatical crusaders, and encouraging them in their warfare upon the institutions and domestic rights of the South. With these suspicions I came here to be a spectator—a spectator, did I say?—not a spectator only, but an observer of your operations, that I might determine for myself whether or not my jealousy was justified by your proceedings, and whether my suspicions were well-founded in fact. The noble and patriotic sentiments I have heard advanced upon this occasion, both at the meeting last evening, and on this, by many gentlemen from the North, who are supporters and members of your Society, the determined spirit which they evince to defend the constitutional rights and domestic institutions of the South against lawless and fanatical violence, satisfies me that my jealousy and my suspicions were unjust, being unfounded in point of fact. I take pleasure in repairing the injury which I have done the Society. I feel entirely convinced that the only object of the Society is that which it professes—the colonization of the *free people of color* in Africa—an object in which the philanthropists of the North and South may cordially unite in promoting. And I now confess that the only feeling of regret which I experience, is that of seeing not one Southern citizen participating in the deliberations of the Society, except yourself, sir.

Before entering upon the course of remarks which I propose to submit upon the resolutions now under consideration, and to prevent any misunderstanding of my views, I beg leave to remark, that I deny to the Government of the United States the right to interfere with the question of domestic slavery in the States or in the District of Columbia, affecting its existence in any shape or form. I deny to the State Governments, also, the power to abolish the right of property in slaves; this can only be done by the People, in their primary sovereign capacity.

I have but little to say, Mr. President, in relation to the fanatical, lawless crew, styled abolitionists, who are busily engaged in preparing the public mind in the North for a crusade against the institutions of the South, in violation of the pledged faith of the Constitution, and every principle of international law—in violation of the laws of God and man. To them I have only to say that we have no fears: we bid them a stern defiance; they may rage, they may storm, but we defy them. Whenever they shall choose to abandon the protection of the State institutions

and laws which now gives them impunity; whenever they shall choose to drop their warfare upon paper, aided by the misguided and deluded support of *priest-ridden* women and children, and transfer their operations among us; whenever they shall pass the line of the Susquehanna, and plant their footsteps on Southern soil, I stand pledged to God, to the country, and to the world, that they will be met with a spirit that will rebuke their foul, nefarious undertaking, and roll back upon them that tide of destruction which they had prepared for the South. There is no earthly power that can effect, by force, the views of these men; nothing short of the arm of Omnipotence itself can effect it; the attempt will be vain.

But, Mr. President, although there is no danger to the institutions of the South, to be apprehended from the physical power of the abolitionists, there is danger of another character, which every patriot, every philanthropist, and every friend of republican institutions should earnestly deprecate, and exert every faculty of his mind to avoid. I mean the stability of the Union. What patriot, what heart that is keenly alive to the preservation of free institutions, and the security of the rights of man, that does not tremble at the very idea? Shall this holy ark of liberty—shall these free institutions be overturned and destroyed—shall the freedom of thought, of speech, of religion, the protection of life, liberty, and property be jeopardized? Destroy this Union, and the work is accomplished. Upon its ruins despotism in its most hideous form will rear its horrid head, and prostrate forever this the only free Government upon earth—the only hope of the good and the great, the free and the bond, of every clime, and of unborn millions. Instead of the daily spectacle of republican institutions, in their pure and simple operations, we shall have royalty, with its attendant splendor and magnificence, rioting in its power, while the clanking chains of oppression which bind the People will be unheard and unheeded. The course of the abolitionists is well calculated to produce this effect. Week by week, day by day, and hour by hour, they are creating among your youth feelings of strong prejudice and hostility to the institutions of the South. Counter prejudices and feelings of hostility are created among the youths of the South by wanton misrepresentation and traduction, which must end, one day or other, unless extinguished, in fierce and *bloody collision*. These passions are already much excited, and are daily gaining strength; they may become so matured as to be uncontrollable and inextinguishable; they should be rebuked while now they can be controlled. I know, Mr. President, our friends of the North believe, from the fact of our hitherto forbearance, that nothing can drive the South to such an extremity. This, sir, is a fatal delusion, and may be productive of fatal effects if indulged. I know the South has borne much, and will yet bear much; they have loved, and they still love, the Union with filial affection, because they appreciate its value, and fully understand what would be the effects of its destruction; but they love liberty more; and, in the progress of time, the oppressions of the Union may become more intolerable than even the oppressions of royalty itself. There are bounds beyond which no People will or ought to endure. I then appeal to the friends of liberty, to the friends of the Union in the North, to check and control that system of reckless fanaticism among them which has such dangerous tendencies, and which may inflict so much mischief upon the country. When I remember that liberty itself was purchased by the common toil, the common sufferings, the stern republican spirit, and the commingled blood of our Northern and Southern ancestors, and this Union founded by their united wisdom and patriotism, I frequently ask myself the question, can their sons have so far lost the spirit of their sires as to throw away so valuable an inheritance to gratify the mere speculative notions of fanatical zealots, who would stop at no sacrifice to accomplish their mad schemes? I must hereafter learn the answer from the actions of our Northern friends. Upon them depends whether we shall remain united and free, or be divided and enslaved. *They can—we cannot—*control the operations of these enemies of the Union, and rights of the South; these disturbers of our peace, and traducers of our character. This is the only subject which can, by any possible means, produce so direful an event as the destruction of the Union; and I fondly trust that there is a sufficient amount of patriotism in the North to afford a timely and salutary interposition.

Mr. President, the professed object of this Society is to colonize the free people of color on the continent of Africa; it is a great, a benevolent, a magnificent object, and worthy the patronage and support of every humane, benevolent heart in the North or in the South. This scheme demands the ardent, the energetic support of the people of the North and the South, whether we consider it as addressed to

their *interest*, their *pride*, their *patriotism*, or their *benevolence*. As addressed to their interest, it proposes to remove a class of population from among us, which, from its degraded condition, and its want of proper inducements to energy, activity, and industry, is a pest to every society in the midst of which it is located. In the North they are not received into association with the whites; they are riotous, disorderly, and debased. In the South, in addition to these characteristics, they disquiet and corrupt the slaves, and incite them to disobedience and rebellion. It is then, the interest of all to get rid of this population. As addressed to their pride, it proposes to form a new empire, to plant a colony in the midst of benighted, debased, and superstitious Africa, which may, under your nurture and your care, emit that light of religion and of liberty which shall dispel the moral and religious gloom which now envelopes the African continent, break down the unhallowed and degrading temples of idolatry and superstition which enslave the African mind, and overthrow the powers of despotism which oppress and enslave her people.

What feelings of pride and gratification would swell our hearts, if in looking through the vista of time we can behold this germe which your benevolence has planted, grown into an extensive and powerful Republic, imbued with the principles of liberty, and sustaining American institutions, giving liberty, prosperity, and happiness to millions of human beings, hitherto degraded in the scale of human existence? How would this pride swell into exultation if you could see the star-spangled banner floating over the sable battalions of Africa, in their march overthrowing the strongholds of despotism, and establishing free institutions over the whole continent of poor, ignorant, enslaved, and degraded Africa? But how would this exultation burst into inward rejoicing if you should live to see in part this great reality—this great work, the product of your care, your toil, and your benevolence, so far secured as to leave no doubt of ultimate success. Persevere, and such will be the glorious result of your untiring and benevolent exertions; and when you have done it, you may embrace in your benevolent contemplation the whole world of mankind, and cordially unite with the poet in his warm and enthusiastic invocation:

"Take, freedom, take thy radiant round,
When dimm'd, revive; when lost, return,
Till not a shrine through earth be found
On which thy glories shall not burn."

As addressed to our *patriotism*. It proposes to rid the nation of a population dangerous, not only to the quiet, peace, and tranquillity of the whole country, but presents a theatre on which the North and the South may rally in mutual confidence, and dry up one of the great sources of discord which now distracts and divides them. Let the probable success of this scheme but be demonstrated, and I do not doubt that it will supplant, in the affection and confidence of the whole nation, the abolition societies, and produce, instead of discord and division, union and emulation among the people of both sections. It is the fear of this that prompts the abolition presses to pursue with such reckless and relentless hostility the American Colonization Society. Whenever it shall be known that the Society can accommodate as fast as emancipation shall prevail, there is no doubt that all eyes will be directed to its operations, and the abolition societies dwindle into that insignificance and contempt which their unhallowed designs richly merit.

As addressed to their *benevolence*. This association is worthy of all confidence, and the most ardent and persevering support. It proposes to remove a class of our fellow-beings from a location in which the policy and actual safety of another and more numerous class forbid their instruction in the arts and sciences, and that mental and intellectual improvement which can alone elevate them to that standard of dignity which properly attaches to man—to a land where, under the fostering care of the Society, they may enjoy life, liberty, and religion, to the fullest extent, and receive that course of instruction in the arts, sciences, and literature, which will enable them to maintain the true dignity of human existence, and secure the supremacy of that system of government and laws calculated to promote their own happiness and prosperity, and transmit them a rich inheritance to their posterity. In this work you not only promote the welfare and happiness of a few individuals, but you aid in advancing and extending the great causes of religion and liberty. How powerfully does the end to be accomplished invoke the energetic and un-

tiring exertions of every humane and benevolent heart. To us these unfortunate people have a right to appeal; on us they have irresistible claims. They are here by our policy and our coercion; they have no means of their own. The laws of the slaveholding States, founded upon sound policy, will not permit them to remain there; the laws of the non-slaveholding States will not permit them to emigrate to them. What then is to be done? Are they to be sent among the merciless savages of the West, there to be destroyed by the tomahawk and scalping knife? Humanity says, no. Are they to be planted amidst the ice and snow of the arctic regions? This cannot be done. Where then are they to go? Send them to the land of their fathers, where they may enjoy peace, life, liberty, and security. Send them to the land of their fathers, that they may enjoy, in undisturbed security, the product of their industry, and the fruits of their labor. This they cannot do without means. They have them not; and to you they appeal—on you they call. Shall the call be in vain? Your future operations must respond.

The practicability of the scheme has been, to my mind, most satisfactorily demonstrated. Already you have acquired a territory sufficiently capacious for double the whole black population of the United States. Already a colony has been planted which is making rapid progress in agriculture, in art, science, government and religion. Already their safety is secured against any hostile aggression of the neighboring tribes. Already the improvements in the condition of the colonists, moral and religious, demonstrate their capacity for still farther and more extended improvements. What then is the hindrance? Nothing but the want of enlarged means, increased effort, and more daring enterprise.

Mr. President, in the providence of God—why and wherefore, it is in vain for frail, fallible, finite man to inquire—man has, in all ages of the world, been made the instrument through which great events, either moral, political, or religious, have been accomplished. So now, this great, this important, this magnificent, this benevolent scheme is to be accomplished through human agency, sir. We have the means if we had only the benevolence and the enterprise to apply them. A nation of people abounding as this is in such extensive wealth, to talk of the inadequacy of their means to accomplish the colonization of our free people of color, is absolutely ridiculous—the means are ample. I fear the spirit of benevolence is restricted by the love of the purse within too narrow limits; and that is the material *inadequacy* of which you complain. There is expended, in the idle and giddy rounds of dissipation, every year, a sum more than sufficient to accomplish this great, this benevolent and glorious enterprise. The objects of no society ever were or ever will be accomplished by annual meetings, the adoption of a few resolutions, and a few pretty, eloquent speeches, unless these displays be accompanied with untiring energy and perseverance. Nor, sir, will your meeting here every year, hearing an inaugural address, and an annual report read, hearing a few speeches, and adopting a few resolutions, ever accomplish your designs. They will not supply the great desideratum—the *means*. You must apply your purses, your energy, and your enterprise, in action; action, energetic action, is the secret of success in all undertakings; and the want of it is the secret of your present embarrassed and languid condition.

Mr. President, the hostility to your Society is not singular; all associations, however benevolent the object, or innocent the design, have had the same hostility to encounter. Christianity itself, the best gift of God to man, has made its way through hosts of enemies, who have assailed it with every sort of weapon. Could this Society have calculated, knowing human nature as it is, to escape opposition? Surely not. Opposition should not depress or discourage you in the prosecution of your designs; it should stimulate your determination to succeed with more inflexibility. The enemies of the Society have resorted to many stratagems, not only to discourage and embarrass you, but to deter the objects of your benevolence from emigrating. Among other misrepresentations, they speak of the insalubrity and sickliness of the climate of the colony, and charge every death which takes place among the colonists to the climate alone. I do not doubt that the change of climate has been fatal to many of the emigrants; yet I do not doubt that the insalubrity and unhealthiness of the climate is greatly exaggerated. If it is expected that a colony is to be planted where there will be neither death nor disease, then indeed will there be sad disappointments: such a spot cannot be found on earth. Have we forgotten so soon the history of the first settlements of every colony which has ever been founded? Have we forgotten the history of the first settlement of our fathers at Plymouth and Jamestown? Have we forgotten that death

shot its unerring darts thickly among them? That disease and the merciless Indian savage murdered them by hundreds in their progress from the Atlantic to the Mississippi? Sir, there is scarcely a spot that is not stained with the mingled blood of the father, the mother, and the child, fresh flowing from the heart, shed by the cruel and infuriated Indian savage. Disease and death, to this hour, follow the pioneers of our Western settlements. But what have these sacrifices produced? Direct your view to our learning, population, our wealth, our power, our commerce, our laws, and our free institutions, religious and political, and see the product! These sacrifices, even of life, are such as have been, and always must be, made by the existing for succeeding generations. They cannot, in the nature of things, be avoided. Our fathers would not have endured the toils and sacrifices of the Revolution if the light of liberty was to have been extinguished with their existence. The sacrifice of life, then, which has been made on the African shore, should not deter you from the prosecution of your great enterprise: because I do not doubt that their sacrifice will be productive of the most glorious and happy results to their posterity.

Mr. President, before I conclude these loose and desultory remarks, there is one view of this subject which presses with peculiar force upon my mind, and which I must be indulged in expressing. Sir, when we look to the past, and see what we were a few years ago, few in number, and struggling for our very existence, with the most powerful nation on earth, and compare it with what we now are, I cannot but press my views a little into the future, and contemplate what will be the state of things some fifty or a hundred years hence, according to the same ratio of progression. If now we find, with our present sparsity of population, this class of people an incumbrance almost too ponderous to be borne, what will it be with its increase when our own population shall have swelled to some hundred millions, and the productions of our soil more inadequate to sustain our existence? Would it not be the part of wisdom now to remove the incumbrance, when it can be done, than to await until their increase and our own want of means shall make the task more difficult, if not impossible? I trust that this consideration will sink deep into the reflections of the American People, and beget a spirit of energy and enterprise compatible with the magnitude of the duties which devolve upon them in relation to this interesting subject.

Mr. President, the quiet and peaceable, yet sure and steady operations of this Society will do more in the work of emancipation in one year, than all the incendiary and inflammatory efforts of abolition societies would do in a thousand. The work of emancipation must not only be voluntary on the part of owners, but it must be gradual; while the spirit of our people will resist all interference by others, there is no disposition to prevent voluntary emancipation, and through this avenue your Society will find full employment for all its means and all its energies. These sources were fresh and full until they were dried up by the mad attempts of the fanatics; they may be opened anew, but not by violence or insolent interference—you must address men's reason, not their passions.

We do not know what events are in the womb of futurity, but I believe, as I fondly hope, that all and each of you may live to see the auspicious hour when, by your labor, your toil, and your benevolence, the colony which you have planted may rise into an empire, sustaining American institutions, and diffusing the lights of science, literature, liberty, and religion, over the continent of now ignorant, barbarous, and degraded Africa. I cordially approve the general objects of your association, and trust that they may be amply successful.

[NOTE.—It is proper to say that I do not approve of the resolution which authorizes an application to Congress for an appropriation of money to aid the funds of the Society. I do not think that Congress has the constitutional power to make such an appropriation.—J. G.]

[From *Zion's Watchman*.]

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GERRIT SMITH, ESQ., OF PETERBOROUGH, NEW YORK, AND THE REV. WILLIAM WINANS, OF MISSISSIPPI.

Our readers will recognize in the following correspondence the names of individuals which are familiar to the reading public. Considering their standing before the community in which they live, it would be impertinent in us to make any remarks respecting either of their communications. They speak for themselves. The correspondence itself contains an account of the history of its introduction and progress. Considering all the circumstances of the case, we have concluded to give both communications an insertion in our columns, which, we think, knowing the parties, will not be objectionable to either.—Ed.

LETTER FROM G. SMITH, ESQ., TO REV. W. WINANS.

Rev. William Winans, of the State of Mississippi :

DEAR SIR: Among the letters received months ago, and unanswered, by reason of unexpected and pressing claims on my time, is a kind-hearted and interesting one from your pen.

You inform me, that "the Methodist Church have undertaken to erect a large, substantial place of worship" in New Orleans—and you invite me to share in the expense of erecting it. I have a question to put to you. Suppose I were invited to contribute to the cost of erecting a heathen temple, could I innocently comply with the request? You will promptly answer, that I am not at liberty to promote any form of idolatrous worship.

The Religion of the South, as you well know, sanctions that code of laws which forbids marriage and reading—which invests hundreds of thousands of petty tyrants with the power of separating husbands from their wives—and which, by means of the whippings and various brutal treatment of parents, that it authorizes, makes such parents vile and contemptible in the eyes of their children.

The Religion of the Bible, on the contrary—the Religion of the true God—enjoins marriage and the searching of the Scriptures; commands husbands to dwell with their wives, and children to honor their parents. Now, I take it for granted, that the Religion which is to be preached in the "place of worship," which you invite me to assist in preparing, is the Religion of the South: and I put it to your candor, whether it is not, therefore, fairly to be considered as an idolatrous "place of worship." You will, of course, admit that the religion preached at the south is not the whole of the true religion. You may not, however, be so ready to admit, that it therefore deserves to be classed with false religions, and its temples with heathen temples. Now, I do not say, that the religion of the south is as false as many religions are. I admit that it presents far more of truth than most of them do. All I insist on is, that it does not set forth the whole testimony of the God of the Bible; and that it is therefore to be numbered with false religions, and its chapels with places of idol worship. Let me add, that the true God mutilated is as certainly an idol as is any god to which the nations of the east bow down.

It grieves me to know that there are some good men at the north who continue their contributions toward sustaining the religion of the south. In a spirit of misguided fraternal and Christian feeling they yield to solicitations for aid to build southern houses of worship, and endow professorships in southern theological seminaries. They know not what they do. To such solicitations I have myself yielded. Knowing not what I did, I on one occasion put my hand in my pocket in behalf of the theological seminary at Columbia, S. C.; and now I have the pain of seeing my gift employed in propagating a slave-holding Christianity. In proof that this is the type of the Christianity of that seminary, and that its students cannot be respected, if indeed their persons can be safe, unless they manifest their friendship for slavery, I copy the following article, which was published a few months ago in the

Southern Christian Herald to allay an excitement against the northern born members of the school, which, unchecked, would not improbably have resulted in the lynching of the obnoxious students:—

"At present the number of students is twenty, of whom thirteen are natives of South Carolina and Georgia, five natives of the northern states, one of the western states, and one of Canada. Of the seven last mentioned, only one came to this institution from the north. But he was not sent here by abolitionists; for he is not only opposed to them in principle, and favorable to (slavery) southern institutions, but he is preparing to leave all that he holds dear in this land that he may spend his days on heathen shores. With regard to the rest, they came to us from the bosoms of southern families, from southern academies and colleges, from communities violently opposed to the schemes of abolitionists, and they came recommended either by southern presbyteries or southern men. They have never been charged with entertaining sentiments favorable to abolition, and inimical to the south. They now authorize us to contradict all the statements which have been made against them; and farther say, that they consider their present residence here, together with their former residence, in most instances for several years, in this and other parts of the south a sufficient evidence of their friendly regard to (slavery) southern institutions."

I trust, my dear sir, that you will, after having read this letter, excuse me for not sending a contribution toward the erection of the New Orleans chapel. Much as I should be pleased to gratify the writer of so pleasant and kind a letter, as is that you have written to me; and much as I should be gratified in having my white brethren of the south suppose that I cherish toward them a generous and brotherly spirit, as strong as that which gained me their good will and praises in the days of my colonization delusion, my conscience nevertheless will not permit me to comply with your request. So far, indeed, am I from feeling at liberty to comply with it, that I am doubting whether the true God—the God of the whole Bible—the God of the poor and oppressed, is willing that I should contribute to those benevolent societies which send their agents to the south after a share of the spoils of slavery. These agents are very liable to learn and adopt the religion of the south—the religion which justifies the oppression and murder of the Saviour's poor; and some of them not content with preaching it there, return to preach it at the north. That they preach it there is a matter of course—for to preach the whole religion of the Bible there would be not only to defeat the end of their mission to those who persevere in shutting their ears against the 58th chapter of Isaiah, the 22d chapter of Jeremiah, and numberless other portions of the Bible, and who will not give their money, save on the condition that smooth things only are prophesied to them; but to declare the whole of God's testimony south of Mason's and Dixon's line, would be to expose their persons to certain destruction. James G. Birney, who, excepting the beloved sisters, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, is doing more than any other child of the south to promote its safety and best interests, accompanied me, a few weeks since, to a village, where we addressed several anti-slavery meetings. Unhappily, an agent of one of our national benevolent Societies had been there a few days before with the southern religion upon his lips. Repeatedly did I hear of his apologies for slavery, and of their unhappy influence on those, or, at least, some of those, to whom he made them.

The apostle requires us to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them;" and if we are to remember them as bound with them ourselves, it follows, as the degree of sympathy for our children is no greater than for ourselves, that we are also to remember them as though our children were bound with them. Now, could northern men, if their own children were among the plundered ones, be as ready as they now are to send agents after southern plunder? Would they rejoice, as they now do, at the sight of the money with which those agents return laden, if the tears and blood which stain it were the tears and blood of their own children? But I forgot myself. I am writing as if my letter were to an abolitionist. That you may soon become one, and obey the command, "Open thy mouth for the dumb in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction," is the earnest desire of your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO', N. Y., August 7, 1837.

Gerrit Smith, Esquire :

DEAR SIR: I do not consider myself a sufficiently competent judge, in matters of courtesy, to decide upon the propriety, in that respect, of answering a private

letter in the columns of a public journal. But *my* sense of what is due to a correspondent would have rendered it impossible for me to have done so, unless, indeed, there occurred to me no other method of introducing to the public some truth of very great importance. And, as I cannot suppose that *you* were at any loss for a salient point in your crusade against slaveholders, I cannot reconcile your course in this matter to my views of the consideration which is due from man to man.

I regret that I was so long in seeing the answer to what you are pleased to designate my *kind-hearted and interesting letter*. It is not two weeks since it found its way to my hands; and then it appeared in the form of a *second* printed edition. I am not *surprised* that it was so long in reaching me, though I regret it. The wonder is, that it came at all. Papers, such as the "*Friend of Man*,"—pardon me for considering this title a gross *misnomer*—such papers, I say, have no general circulation in *this* country. Whatever moral influence *such* publications may exert in your country, *here* they are inoperative. And the thousands of dollars which are expended to array a moral power against slavery, are doing nothing where, as it seems to me, it can alone be made to exert an influence against it—in the south. Unless it is intended to dismember the south from the Union, by violating the pledges of the constitution on the subject, the vituperations against the slavery and slaveholders of the south, in which abolitionists are indulging themselves in the north, have, and can have no tendency to dispose those who alone have any control over the business toward the emancipation aimed at. But, to return. I regretted that I was so long in receiving your letter; and was exceedingly *surprised* that it should come in a *public* form. This was at war with all I had conceived of your disposition and character. In you I expected to find the courtesy of a Christian gentleman, and the unstooping dignity of well-taught magnanimity. But your letter *has* come; and though I, who should, in reason, have been the first, am, perhaps, the fifty thousandth reader of it, I rejoice in being enabled by it at last to learn the result of my well-intended application to you for aid in planting the Gospel standard in the city of New Orleans.

I readily grant that you would not be obliged, nor even at liberty to assist in erecting a *heathen* temple in New Orleans: but I am not at all prepared to grant that the *religion* of the south sanctions any thing *whatever*, in the code of existing laws or in the institutions of Louisiana, which is incompatible with the doctrines or precepts of the Bible; or that "the religion preached at the south is not the *whole* of the true religion." I am myself identified with the religion of the south; and I appeal to Heaven that I have, for almost twenty-seven years, been preaching *the whole of the true religion*, to the best of my understanding. It is true, that professors of religion in the south may, as professors of religion in the north do, sometimes sanction those things which are incongruous to the pure Gospel of Christ: but this no more convicts the religion of the south than it does the religion of the north of either heathenism or imperfection. If men shall hold themselves excused from assisting in building churches, till all who profess religion are orthodox in opinion and upright in practice, they may appropriate their money otherwise till the day of doom. But I will not affect to misunderstand you. You mean to say, I suppose, that the religion of the south sanctions slavery; or, at least, that it does not denounce it as criminal. It does, however, just what the Saviour and his apostles did, when they preached the whole of the true religion, in countries where slavery prevailed. It lays down and enforces the same principles, urges the same precepts, denounces the same threatenings, and presents the same inducements which those masters of the true religion did in similar circumstances. It condemns slavery as clearly and as strongly as any one or all of these ever did; and it goes no farther toward sanctioning the *abuses* of slavery than they did. It is *this* sort of religion for which a sanctuary in New Orleans is contemplated, and for aid in the providing of which I took the liberty of soliciting you; and it is, moreover, *such* a religion as this which you have assumed the responsibility of pronouncing heathenish in its character. Would you, sir, have met a requisition of St. Paul, to aid in propagating the religion which he taught in Rome, at Ephesus, or at Colosse, by such an excuse as that by which you would vindicate your refusal to contribute to the erection of a Methodist Church in the city of New Orleans? And yet, I assure you, the Gospel it is intended to preach in that church, is, in extenso and in detail, the same Gospel which that apostle published to those cities.

I leave the Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C., to determine whether

they will not refund to you, with interest, the donation which you made to that institution, and which you now regret. Were I one of its trustees, it should not be my fault if *that* source of your sorrow were not soon dried up. I shall not even pass a judgment on the propriety of the course pursued by the Southern Christian Herald, in publishing the opinions of the five northern born students of that institution, concerning slavery, with a view to quiet the angry passions of the community within which the seminary is situated, and prevent those young men from being martyrs to the abolition doctrines which they manifestly eschewed. The religion of the south is stainless of the guilt of mobbing and lynching. It would deprecate these things, though directed against the most malignant abolitionists, as sincerely as the religion of the north could. It does not appear to me, though you seem to have so supposed, that the Theological Seminary approved of the practice of lynching abolitionists, though they did take measures to secure those who were *not* abolitionists, from all liability to being lynched *as such*.

If you mean to say that you "trust that I will see displayed in your letter reasons which justify you for not contributing towards the erection of a New Orleans chapel," you must strangely misconceive of my sincerity, or greatly underrate my understanding, poor as it may be. You assume premises which you very well know would not be conceded by any religious man in the south; and from them you conclude against the propriety of the contribution solicited; and then—(I will not characterize the proceeding)—and then you suppose I must see reason, in what you have written, for withholding the contribution! I most certainly had no other claims on you than those created by a *bona fide* purpose of glorifying God, and advancing the interests of true religion. I presented these claims to you, as to one who had both these objects in high regard. Whether you have *sacrificed* these objects to the interests of an excited and a fanatical association—whether you have been held back from this good work by mistaken apprehensions of the religion of the south—or whether the religion of the south is itself involved in error on this subject, would, perhaps, as little become me to determine, as it becomes you to determine, as you have done, of the heathenish character, or, at least, mutilated state of the religion of the south.—It is certain, however, that if the religion of the south is such as you represent it, there is a stern and tremendous obligation on you, and such as you, to send or bring the *whole* of the true religion among us. Many of us, on this supposition, are *perishing for lack of knowledge*; and the worst of it is, the Bible itself will not supply this lack to us. We cannot find the character of our religion *thus* drawn in that sacred book. We must be taught, then; and on such as you it is incumbent to teach us. Come over, then, to our Macedonia, and help us. Think not you have done enough, or, indeed, have done any thing, while your lectures against southern idolatry and heathenism are confined to northern audiences; who, though they framed our idols and forced them upon us, have themselves cast their idols to the moles and bats, content with the price of iniquity which they have treasured up, in exchange for those they have set up among us. Come, I repeat, or send; that we may be taught the whole of the true religion. In this great work you cannot, certainly, fear that you will repeat the delusion which so long held you in the front rank of colonization advocates, in the best days of your mental vigor! Or would it be too much mercy to us wretched idolatrous heathen, to convert us from the error of our ways, and turn us from our idols to the living God? Why waste the noble energies of mind, and other resources with which Providence has endowed you and your coadjutors, Birney and the beloved sisters, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, in lecturing those who are not involved in it, on the sin of southern idolatry? Or, perhaps, I mistake the purpose of your movements. You may be training a band of missionaries for this purpose. If so, what is it intended shall be their outfit? Will they come to us with the simple Gospel? Or, may we expect that Gospel to be supported by a violated constitution, on the one hand, and a severed Union on the other? And will these carry fire and sword, as the cogent arguments by which the whole of the true religion is to be urged upon our voluntary acceptance? If not, why delay the commencement of your preaching the true religion among us in its entirety? Will the Gospel become more efficient by the delay? Or shall *we* become more disposed to receive it, at your hands, in proportion to the injury which *we think* you have attempted against us, in your denunciatory lectures at the north?

I say nothing in this letter, upon the question of the right or wrong of slavery in the abstract. Every conscientious man that holds slaves must believe that it is

right, in the circumstances in which he holds them; and, till he is convinced to the contrary of this, no denunciations upon general principles, much less upon misapplied portions of the Jewish Scriptures, can convince him of sin or reform him. Many of the religious men of the south believe that, in existing circumstances, it is greatly conducive to the well being of the slaves in general, that religious men, and especially, that the ministers of religion should be known to be slaveholders. In that character *alone* can they effectually perform the important service in behalf of the slave, which your benevolence toward me has prompted you to wish I might perform, viz: "to open my mouth for the dumb." I have seen a *slaveholding* minister of the Gospel do thus *effectually* in behalf of the best interests of the entire colored population of a whole State; while the whole influence exerted by the abolitionists upon the condition and prospects of slaves, is evil and *only* evil. Its effect is to rivet the fetters of slavery, and to increase the privations and hardships of the slave. You, sir, when under your "colonization delusion," did *effectually* as well as eloquently "open your mouth for the dumb." The burdens of the slave were sensibly lessened by the measures adopted by you and your philanthropic coadjutors in that *noblest* of human enterprises; and the shackles of many hundreds of slaves were thrown off; and those of thousands of others manifestly loosened by the eloquence of your judicious pleadings in behalf of humanity: but alas! you saw proper to change the tone of *pleading* for that of *denunciation*; and, in a moment, your influence changed sides. The prison doors which had opened at the solicitations of the advocate of colonization, closed with violence before the communications of the abolition lecturer. The mild light of hope, which you had thrown upon the prospect of the prisoner, by your exhibition of Africa's rising sun, was exchanged for the gloom of despair, the moment you taught the black man to look for his freedom and happiness on the soil of the American continent. Did the black man of America understand the scope and bearing of the influence which your recovery from colonization delusion exerts upon his condition, he would, whether free or bond, lament that recovery as the saddest lapse in your moral character which could have acted upon him. And you, sir, if you could realize the evil influence of that change, upon the condition and prospects of the black man, would, I have no doubt, curse the hour and the instrumentality of that change as heartily as Job ever cursed the hour of his birth, and the man who carried tidings of that event to his father. To me, as the sincere friend of the black man, and one placed in a position from which I can see the bearing of the influences exerted upon his condition and future prospects, the change which you consider an escape from delusion to truth—from an attitude of hostility to the interests of the black race, to one of transcendent beneficence to it, appears to be one calling for mourning, lamentation, and wo, from every friend of that people; while it and like changes afford occasion of exultation and triumph to the ultra slaveholder, as it tends to perpetuate the bondage of the black man, by disgusting the white man against every measure which tends, no matter how remotely, to the accomplishment of his emancipation. Men, and even whole communities, who were fast approximating the point at which they would voluntarily have unloosed the fetters of their slaves, and afforded them the opportunity of being free *indeed*, have been driven by the headlong, and, forgive me for saying it, the incendiary measures of northern abolitionists, to retrace their steps—to add strength to the chains of their bondmen. And Gerrit Smith, Esq., the far famed philanthropist, the friend of the negro, is an agent of first rate efficiency in accumulating these evils upon his devoted friends! If such be the operation of his kindness, may Heaven shield from his enmity!

Be assured, my dear sir, though I had hoped a contribution of from \$500 to \$1000 from you, for the church, whose agent I have the honor to be, my disappointment in meeting a refusal did not excite one half the regret that was occasioned by witnessing what I consider such an instance of mental alienation—for I cannot suppose your moral feelings so perverted—as that which your present course, and especially your letter to me, indicates. You and the sober part of mankind agreed to consider you as very much in your senses; and most agreed that you were making an excellent use of those senses, when you were a leading star in the phalanx of colonization philanthropists. You must not wonder, then, if the sober part of mankind deplore, as the hallucination of frenzy, the strenuous effort you are now making to pull down what you were so long employed in building up; and exclaim, "How is the most fine gold become dim!"

I assure you no ill-natured sentiment toward you has place in my bosom. True, the uncereemonious, and, as I think, uncourteous manner in which you have dragged me before the public, and the dogmatical denunciation of the religion of a large community of Christians with whom I am associated, are, in themselves, offences of no moderate malignity: but then, as I cannot bring myself to believe that your heart was privy to any intention to give offence, I cannot be offended. Fanaticism, when sincere, though guilty of the utmost want of courtesy, and even of the grossest rudeness, has claims to large indulgence from the sober thinker. When a *Shaker* said to me once, "I despise the God you worship—he is a damned God," I was not angry. I only pitied the fanaticism which drove him upon such blasphemous rudeness. And, for the same reason, you, sir, have not made me angry by pronouncing the Jehovah of southern devotions an idol, and his worshippers heathens. Most sincerely can I adopt the prayer of our blessed Saviour for his murderers,—“Father, forgive him—he knows not what he does!” That you may speedily recover that healthy tone of mind and feeling which once distinguished you, and be again, above many, a blessing to Africa’s unhappy race, are among the most fervent wishes of, sir, your sincere friend and well-wisher,

WILLIAM WINANS.

Centreville, Amite, Mi., Nov. 18, 1837.

EXPEDITION TO BASSA COVE.

[From the New York Observer.]

REPORT OF THE AGENT ON THE EXPEDITION FROM WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA, TO BASSA COVE.

To the Board of Managers of the New York City Colonization Society and Pennsylvania Colonization Society.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to report that, in obedience to your directions, I proceeded to Wilmington, North Carolina, where I arrived on the 20th November, and immediately commenced making the necessary arrangements for fitting out an expedition for your colony at Bassa Cove.

Having understood that considerable excitement had prevailed in the community in consequence of the agitations of the abolitionists at the North, I took care to wait upon the public authorities, and other leading persons of the place, and acquaint them fully with the objects of my mission, before making any demonstrations in other quarters. From those gentlemen, I am happy to say, I received the most polite attentions, and every facility was cheerfully afforded for the furtherance of my views.

I convened a meeting of the free colored people, and addressed them at length on the subject of colonization, explaining carefully the difficulties to be encountered, as well as the advantages to be gained, by their removal to Liberia: and finally offered to such as were disposed to comply with your established conditions, an opportunity of joining the expedition for Bassa Cove. At the close of the meeting, a number came forward and signified their desire to be enrolled, at once, as emigrants; others declared their intention to become citizens of the young republic, as soon as they could make the necessary preparations, and all manifested the highest satisfaction with the account given them of

the colonies. One of them, a very respectable mechanic, of considerable property and great influence, expressed much regret that he was prevented by a large job of work on hand, from accompanying the present expedition, and declared that he should avail himself of the next opportunity to remove with his family to Bassa Cove. I mention the case of this person particularly, because, on account of his moral worth and enterprise, he would be an excellent leader of another expedition.

As some days elapsed before the arrival of the Barque, which took place on the 27th of November, I employed my time in presenting the claims of the Society as an occasion offered. In the frequent opportunities afforded me for familiar conversation on this subject, I had the satisfaction of finding many warm friends to the cause, and acquired much valuable information. Among other interesting cases which were made known to me, was that of a company of twelve people, whose manumission had been conditionally provided for, under the care of Mr. Lane, a planter of wealth and influence, in the vicinity of Wilmington. I sought an introduction, and made a visit to him at his plantation. He appeared interested in the objects of colonization, and expressed a desire to send his people to Bassa Cove; but his mother, who had a life-interest in them, declined ceding her right, and consequently he was unable to do so. One of the company, however, a young lad of sixteen, over whom he had entire control, was offered the privilege of going, which he gladly embraced, and received from his master an outfit for the voyage.

Another case of peculiar interest, which engaged my attention, was that of a company of forty people, under the care of Mr. Bowen of Brunswick county, a colored man. These people were formerly the slaves of a Mr. Elliston, who, at his death, provided by will for their emancipation, and left a considerable sum of money in the hands of his heir, Mr. Bowen, to be appropriated to removing and settling them in some country where they might enjoy their freedom in undisturbed security.

From the information given me, I made a visit to Elizabeth, (the county town of the late residence of Mr. Elliston) in order to examine the county records for a copy of the will; but it appeared that the will had unfortunately never been recorded, and that no trace of it could be found. In the absence of all legal claim on Bowen, the only alternative was to appeal to his benevolent feelings and sense of justice. This, I am happy to say, was not made in vain. As soon as he became acquainted with the character of the colony, and the unequalled advantages to be secured to his people by placing them under your patronage, he nobly resolved to give them up. For he had not failed to comply before with the generous intentions of their former master through a selfish desire to profit by their continued servitude, but from an honest doubt whether their condition would be improved by a removal to the free States. In Liberia, he saw that freedom would not be to them an unmeaning name, but a real blessing, and he hesitated not to confer it. He promised, also, to appropriate fifteen hundred dollars, as an outfit to them, on the sailing of the vessel.

I spent some time in Bladen and Brunswick counties, and succeeded in collecting a number of highly respectable emigrants: one of these,

James Brown, from the peculiar circumstances of the family, deserves particular mention. Brown was the favorite servant of an excellent lady, who had reared him from a child under her personal inspection. The interest which had led her to take special care of his infancy, and to watch with parental diligence over his early education had grown with his maturing years into a firm and confiding attachment, and in her declining years he was her constant attendant, her adviser, her friend, and the staff of her old age.

Under the good influence of his pious mistress, James, too, had become a Christian, and in the strict integrity of his character and the faithful discharge of every duty, he illustrated the holy principles of his faith, and obtained the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. But his wife and children were slaves. He had married early in life the slave of a neighboring planter, and now, when he saw his interesting family growing up about him, his cup of happiness was embittered by the reflection, that the wife of his bosom and the children of his care were in bondage, and might at any moment be torn from him, by the will of another, and separated to a returnless distance. He heard of Liberia, and he immediately besought his mistress to intercede for the freedom of his family, and to send them and him to that country. At first, the feelings of the good old lady were wounded, and she wept at his supposed ingratitude in wishing to leave her; but when she understood the full scope of his request, her generous heart responded to it, and she at once promised to use her influence in effecting the object of his wishes. In a few days, she announced to him her complete success in procuring the freedom of his wife and six children. Then having provided amply for their comfort on the voyage, she presented him with four hundred dollars as an outfit, and prepared to bid him a final adieu. But this was a trial almost beyond her strength. The noble determination which had hitherto supported her, at the moment of its consummation gave way, and for a time she indulged her grief in a flood of tears. But again the heroine triumphed over the woman; and she gave them a parting blessing as they left her to join the expedition at Wilmington.

A gentleman, who was present, told me, he never witnessed a scene of such touching interest as the parting of that grateful family with their protector and friend.

Mr. Louis Sheridan, who is already favorably known to you as the leader, I may say the *father*, of this expedition, is, in my opinion, every way worthy of your confidence, and eminently qualified for great usefulness in Africa. For energy of mind, firmness of purpose, and variety of practical knowledge, Sheridan has no superior. He is, emphatically, a self-made man, who has fought his way, through adverse and depressing circumstances, to an eminence seldom, if ever, attained by any of his caste in this country. For years he has been engaged in an extensive and successful business; and though often wronged by the villainy of others, and the unequal operation of laws, out of large sums of money, he is still worth (after emancipating his slaves, seven in number, who accompany him as his fellow-citizens to Liberia,) fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. Throughout his native State he is honored and esteemed wherever he is known, and he leaves the country, with the best wishes of all classes of the community.

On my first arrival at Wilmington, Sheridan entered with zeal into the business of the expedition, and contributed by his various exertions and influence materially to lighten my labors. To him is partially due the credit of securing the confidence of Mr. Bowen, and enlisting his people so warmly in this enterprise. And, indeed, it is to his efforts, that I must attribute much of the success of my mission.

It may be asked why such a man, with an ample fortune, influential friends, and a well established character, should wish to emigrate. It is, that, because, with all his dignity and talents, he cannot in this country enjoy an equality of rights; because, with all his refinement and worth, he is here doomed, in the dearest intercourse of life, to degrading associations; and, more than all, because he is fired with a noble desire to elevate the down-trodden millions of his stricken brethren, by giving them a country and a name. These are the motives which led Sheridan and his associates to leave their native land; and surely nobler ones never inspired the breast of man.

The object of my visit to Brunswick and Bladen counties having been fully accomplished, and the emigrants, under charge of Sheridan, on their way to the place of embarkation, I found that the near approach of the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, at Washington City, would compel me to leave before the sailing of the vessel. I therefore applied to Governor Owen, who had exhibited, throughout, the liveliest interest in the expedition, to go to Wilmington, and superintend its departure. He kindly consented to do so, and requested that Dr. Thomas H. Wright, of that place, might be associated with him. That gentleman also cordially met my wishes, and I had thus the satisfaction of leaving the completion of this important and interesting work in the hands of gentlemen alike distinguished for their private worth and eminent for their public virtues. In this connection allow me to express my grateful sense of the hospitality and various assistance rendered me by the citizens of North Carolina generally in the prosecution of my mission. My thanks are particularly due to the gentlemen already named, and to Col. Andrews, of Brunswick county, for his important service in the transactions connected with the people of Mr. Bowen.

The whole number of emigrants enrolled, when I left Wilmington, was eighty-four. Since my return to this city, I have been advised by Messrs. Owen and Wright, that the *Marine* sailed on the 23d ultimo. The people were all in good spirits, and animated with hopes of the future.

Just before the sailing of the vessel, a circumstance occurred, which, as it illustrates the good feelings with which the expedition was regarded, may be mentioned. One of the men was arrested for a debt of thirty dollars, after his family were on board. The poor fellow was in great distress, as he had no means of liquidating the demand. But as soon as the matter was known to the by-standers, the money was promptly contributed and the debt settled.

The happy influence of this expedition will long be felt in North Carolina, and I have no doubt it will prove the precursor of many succeeding ones from that State.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, your obedient Servant,

Philadelphia, Jan. 2, 1838.

THOS. BUCHANAM.

THE ENFRANCHISED.

[From the Boston Recorder.]

Among the colored emigrants who returned to Africa, under the patronage of the "Maryland State Colonization Society," in the spring of 1837, was a man named Demba, old and blind, but a Christian.

"Old man, old man, with crisped hair,
And brow of ebon die,
What seek'st thou with such earnest air,
'Neath Afric's sultry sky?
I saw thee on the vessel's prow,
Long ere it near'd the land,
And read wild wishes on thy brow,
To tread this burning strand.

What tale hast thou of stormy seas,
When whelming waves roll'd high?
What tidings from a distant clime,
Old stranger?" No reply!
He felt the palm-leaves cool and fresh
Sweep o'er his wither'd cheek,
And then his sightless eyes he rais'd,
With thoughts that none might speak.

They gently took his groping hands,
And on his footsteps led,
Toward where in ancient times arose
His father's lowly shed;
And there the breath of spice and gum,
Rich o'er his senses stole,
And low winds whispering thro' the reeds
Made music in his soul.

Made music! Such as still had slept
Since boyhood's early day,
When kidnapp'd from his mother's arms
They tore the slave away;
And still as memory's magic hand
O'er the soul's harp-strings ran,
To prayer upon the glowing sand
Knelt down that blind old man.

He prais'd the God of heaven and earth
For every chastening pain,
For all the sorrows of his lot
Beyond the western main:
For there the Bible's blessed love
Was to his soul reveal'd,
The diamond signet of the skies,
Which had his pardon seal'd.

And sweet it was, the voice to hear
Of that enfranchis'd slave,
Thus giving glory for the hope
That lives beyond the grave;
And sweet to think those blinded eyes
Should their Redeemer see,
And from Time's dreary midnight wake
To bright Eternity. L. H. S.

NEW AND INTERESTING PROJECT.

The following communication discloses a project which, if carried into effect, must prove of incalculable benefit to the cause of Colonization. Its author is Judge Wilkeson, of St. Augustine, Florida, a gentleman of great wealth, intelligence and energy; and we trust he will find many gentlemen of influence and means ready to co-operate in this noble undertaking.

ST. AUGUSTINE, *March 7, 1838.*

My Dear Sir: I can make you no apology which will be satisfactory to myself for neglecting so long to acknowledge your favor of December 29th. On my arrival here, I found it necessary, for the comfort of my family, to go to housekeeping; (the effects of the war are no where more sensibly felt than in our public boarding-houses.) I had therefore to purchase a house, repair and fit it for occupancy, and, in the mean time, two cargoes of lumber and necessaries to unlade and secure, and also to keep my men at work on my plantation; so, my dear sir, all this, with the correspondence connected with my own personal business in the State of New York, has so occupied me, that I have not had time until now to reply to your kind letter. Hereafter I hope that no apology will be requisite.

Sir, the project, of which I communicated to you the outlines in Washington, is briefly set forth in a letter to Lewis Sheridan, a colored man of North Carolina, who has embarked for Africa with his family. I expected to find him at Washington, but he had gone into the country. I waited a day, and was sorry to leave without seeing him. On my arrival at Charleston, though pressed for time, I addressed to him the letter referred to, a copy of which I subjoin.

"CHARLESTON, *December 7 1837.*

"*Mr. Lewis Sheridan:* Sir, although a stranger, I have taken the liberty of communicating to you a project, by which I propose to place the colored man in a favorable position to prove his ability to engage in trade and commerce and other important business, where talent, integrity and industry are requisite to success.

"The high character which you have acquired in North Carolina, for moral worth and mercantile ability, might be regarded as evidence that the colored man stands on ground equally elevated as the white man, making allowance only for the difference of education, and political condition. Still, sir, I would suggest that this is a favorable time for the philanthropist and real friend of the African race to unite in multiplying evidences that the negro is capable of taking his place in the honorable and elevated callings of life. I here submit to you my project, and solicit your opinion of its practicability and influence on the colored man. I propose to raise money by contribution, which shall be applied to the purchase of vessels suited to trade and transporting passengers to the coast of Africa; which vessels shall be sold to colored men, capable of managing them, and who will reside in, and hail from, Africa, and pay for the vessels within a given number of years, by carrying emigrants to the American Colonies on the coast. I anticipate no difficulty in raising the necessary funds, particularly at this time, when the benevolent public is so much alive to every thing relating to the African race. Nor can I doubt that many vessels could be officered and manned by colored people, well qualified to navigate them safely and economically. When the practicability of this project is once proved, in what a new and favorable light will the negro appear; and from his capacity to endure the rays of a vertical sun, in the climate of Africa, he could safely prosecute the trade and commerce of that quarter of the globe, which are now, and always have been, attended with such fearful risk of life to the white man. Navigation, once commenced by the negro, and a regular

trade established between this country and Africa, can we doubt that the colored people of this country, who possess enterprise and property, would engage in that trade, and turn their attention to Africa as their future home, where they will enjoy, not nominal, but real freedom? If regular packets, navigated by colored men, were established between this country and our Colonies on the coast of Africa, would not the natural tendency be to do away the existing prejudices against emigration? The colored ship owner would have an interest to induce his enterprising colored friend to settle in Africa, as a planter or trader, and thereby contribute to the articles of commerce. As colonization is now conducted, the influence of the emigrant can be brought to bear but very partially upon his friends in this country, however much he may desire it. Again, the increased facilities of visiting the western coast of Africa which would be furnished by this means, would induce many of our colored people to visit the country, and thus develop the advantages of a settlement there, and dissipate prevailing prejudices. May it not be expected that in a very short time companies of enterprising free negroes would be found for emigration to Africa, the same as is now practised by our eastern citizens in removing in colonies to the far west, or by Europeans in emigrating by companies to this country? The coast to leeward of Liberia, being more healthy than the points now occupied by the American colonies, would furnish inducements for new settlements which might be extended for more than a thousand miles, embracing some of the most healthy and productive parts of the African coast. You have, no doubt, reflected much on the subjects embraced in this letter; will you favor me with your views in relation to them, and particularly in relation to encouraging the free Negro to engage in navigation? Would you become interested yourself and present the subject favorably to your enterprising friends in Africa?

Yours, &c."

The above letter, which was sent by private conveyance, (the mail not going direct) either was not delivered, or Mr. Sheridan had not time before sailing to answer it.

The first idea of this project was suggested to me by observing that few colored men in any section of our country are prosecuting any extensive business, but are generally engaged in subordinate capacities, and in performing the most menial services. Feeling a great desire for the elevation of the colored man, I embraced every opportunity afforded by several visits to the southern and southwestern States of making myself acquainted with the condition of both slaves and free people of color, and their susceptibility of elevation in this country. I found among the slaves as skilful mechanics as our country affords. The Dover Iron works, among the most extensive in America, are carried on by slaves, from digging the oar, and cutting the wood for coal, to refining the iron, and rolling it into bars and plates, and the extensive and complicated machinery kept in the most perfect order. The mechanic labor on the plantations in the southern States, is usually performed by slaves. They are in fact the blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, weavers, and shoe-makers of the country, and their work is performed with skill and expedition. I am satisfied that the colored man is as capable of acquiring trades as the white man, and that the reason he is so seldom found in the middle and eastern States carrying on mechanic business, is not for want of ability to acquire the knowledge and skill, but on account of the difficulties and discouragements incident to his condition, and which are alike applicable to all colored men who seek to elevate themselves in this country. The merchant will not employ them as clerks: the mechanic will not employ them as journeymen: should he perchance find such employment, he applies for board and is refused—other workmen will not eat with him; thus he meets at the very outset in life with difficulties which he cannot surmount. He may have education, and mechanic skill; of what avail are they so long as neither can be profitably employed? He has no one to take him by the hand

and help him onward—his heart sinks with discouragement—he must either steal, beg, or accept of menial employment,—and instead of being surprised that so great a majority are thus employed, it is a wonder that more are not vagabonds. It may be said that all these difficulties proceed from the wicked prejudices of a wicked world; be it so, their effects on the colored man are none the less calamitous, and ages may roll away before these prejudices are corrected, and generations of colored men may pass away to the grave while their professed friends are setting the world right. My project offers present relief, opens a field to him in which talents, education, and skill can be successfully employed, yes, and extensively too; for can it be doubted, that if one successful voyage is made by colored men, ships would be procured as fast as competent officers and sailors would accept of them on the conditions proposed, and thousands of colored men would hasten to qualify themselves to act as officers? Good colored seamen are now numerous. The terms on which I propose to place the vessels in the hands of the colored man are liberal. Require no cash payments, take the whole amount of the vessel in transporting passengers to be furnished by the American Colonization Society, and other societies now existing, or to be formed, for colonizing on the coast of Africa. One, two, three, or more years should be allowed, if required to pay for the vessel. Or, it might be proposed, that if the free colored men of this country, either by themselves or in connection with their friends in Africa, should form a society or company for colonizing in Africa, and acquire a title to one hundred square miles of land, and settle on it one hundred emigrants from the United States, then and at such time any balance due on any vessel or vessels so sold shall be assigned and transferred to such society or company.

This project seems to me, after much reflection, so well calculated to accomplish what so many thousands honestly desire, although great diversity of opinion prevails in relation to the means to be employed, that I have great hopes of seeing the experiment made the ensuing fall. I cannot doubt that money can be raised to purchase a ship. I shall make the effort, and if necessary, I will be one of ten persons to furnish the amount required, and devote my time to the object. I therefore hope that gentlemen residing in various sections of this country, who may favor this plan, will interest themselves in recommending it to such colored men as they find competent and willing to engage in the enterprise. I will give my views further on this subject by next mail.

Sir, in concluding to engage in this matter I have done it with fear and apprehension, but I have great confidence that something good will grow out of the effort; more capable men will engage in it; I count on your aid. Will you please place this communication before the public as soon as possible.

Sir, I am yours,

Most respectfully,

SAML. WILKESON.

From the Colonization Herald.

LIBERIA AS IT IS.

It is now SIXTEEN YEARS since the first settlement in Liberia was established, on Cape Mesurado. In 1821 the American Colonization Society purchased a part of the Island of Sherboro, distant about 120 miles from Cape Mesurado, and during that year and the following a vigorous, but ineffectual effort was made to plant a colony there. The treachery of the natives, the insalubrity of the climate, and a series of melancholy disasters finally compelled its abandonment, and the society directed its attention to the more eligible scite mentioned above; where, in 1822, after a protracted negotiation, a purchase was made, and a feeble band of emigrants took possession.

As my object at present is not to trace the progress of the colony through its various fortunes, I shall reserve for another article an account of the early trials and difficulties, as well as the many daring and heroic achievements with which its history is fraught, and come at once to the bright picture of its present condition and prospects. Liberia (stretching along 300 miles of the coast, and extending from 10 to 40 miles inland) now numbers FOUR separate colonies, viz:

MONROVIA, established by the American Colonization Society, including the towns of *Monrovia*, *New Georgia*, *Caldwell*, *Millsburgh*, and *Marshall*—

BASSA COVE, established by the United Colonization Societies of New York and Pennsylvania. This colony includes *Bassa Cove* and *Edina*. The latter village was founded by the American Colonization Society, and lately ceded to the United Societies—

GREENVILLE, established by the Mississippi and Louisiana Colonization Societies, at *Sinou*—

MARYLAND, established by the Maryland Colonization Society at *Cape Palmas*.

In the NINE VILLAGES enumerated above there is a population of about 5000—all of course colored persons—of which THREE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED are emigrants from this country, and the remainder natives of Africa, mostly youth, who have come into the colonies to learn “Merica fash,” and make themselves “white men,” by conforming to the habits of civilization and becoming subject to our laws.

The commerce of the colonies, though in its infancy, is already extensive. From \$80,000 to \$125,000 is exported annually, in camwood, ivory, palm oil, and hides; and an equal or greater amount of the manufactures and productions of Europe and America are brought into the colonies in return. Monrovia, which is the largest town and principal seaport, carries on a considerable coasting trade, by means of small vessels built and owned by her own citizens. Not less than 12 or 15 of these, averaging from 10 to 30 tons burden, manned and navigated by the colonists, are constantly engaged in a profitable trade along seven hundred miles of the coast.

The harbor of Monrovia is seldom clear of foreign vessels; more than SEVENTY of which, from the United States, England, France, Sweden, Portugal and Denmark, touch there annually.

BASSA COVE and CAPE PALMAS have both good harbors, and possess great advantages for commerce. Already their waters are gladdened

by the frequent presence of traders from other countries, and in a few years, when the hand of enterprise shall have developed the rich mines of wealth which nature has so abundantly provided there, these growing towns will become the centres of an extensive and important business.

SINOU, too, possesses an excellent harbor, and is the natural outlet of a vast tract of rich and productive country. Under the fostering hand of its enterprising founders, it must soon become an important link in the great maritime chain of Americo-African establishments. The productions of the country, which may be raised in any quantity for exportation, are *coffee, cotton, sugar, rice, indigo, palm oil*, together with the *gums, dye-woods, ivory, &c.*, which are collected from the forests.

The state of morals in the colonies is emphatically of a high order. Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, profanity, and quarrelling are vices almost unknown in Liberia. A temperance society formed in 1834 numbered in a few weeks after its organization 500 members, at that time more than one-fifth of the whole population.

At BASSA COVE and CAPE PALMAS, the sale and use of ardent spirits are forbidden by law. In the other colonies the ban of public opinion so effectually prohibits dram drinking that no respectable person would dare indulge an appetite so disreputable.

There are EIGHTEEN CHURCHES in Liberia, viz: at Monrovia 4, New Georgia 2, Caldwell 2, Millsburgh 2, Edina 2, Bassa Cove 3, Marshall 1, Cape Palmas 2. Of these, 8 are Baptist, 6 Methodist, 3 Presbyterian, and 1 Episcopalian.

As there are FORTY CLERGYMEN in the colonies, all the churches are not only regularly supplied with preaching, but religious meetings are weekly held in many of the native villages.

Seven hundred of the colonists, or one-fifth of the whole population, are professed Christians, in good standing with the several churches with which they are connected. As might be expected, where so large a proportion of the people is pious, the general tone of society is religious. No where is the Sabbath more strictly observed, or the places of worship better attended. Sunday schools and Bible classes are established generally in the churches, into which, in many cases, the native children are gathered with those of the colonists.

There are ten week-day schools in all the settlements, supported generally by education and missionary societies in this country. The teachers in most cases are colored persons. A laudable thirst for knowledge pervades the community, and a great desire is expressed for an academic institution, toward the support of which they would contribute liberally; though as yet they are scarcely able to establish one single handed.

In some places, as at BASSA COVE, literary societies are formed for mutual improvement, much on the plan of village lyceums in this country.

At Bassa Cove and Monrovia there are public libraries for the use of the people. The one at the former place numbers 1200 or 1500 volumes.

A monthly newspaper is published at Monrovia. The articles in this paper afford good testimony of the general intelligence of the people, and reflect great credit upon the talented editor, a colored man.

There are at present 25 or 30 white persons connected with the various missionary and education societies, or attached to the colonies as physicians, &c. The government of Liberia is essentially republican. All the officers, except the Governor, (who is appointed by the Colonization Society) being chosen by the people. Elections are held annually in every village, and are conducted with great propriety and decorum. A vice-governor, legislative counsellors, a high sheriff, constables, &c., are some of the officers elected annually. The militia is well organized and efficient. The officers and men exhibit a degree of enthusiasm in the performance of their duty seldom witnessed elsewhere; and on field days their neat and orderly appearance, their thorough discipline, and the promptness and precision of their evolutions, command the admiration of every observer.

There are a number of volunteer corps, regularly uniformed and equipped. These of course are the elite of the Liberia militia; and indeed many of them would lose nothing by a comparison with our own city guards.

T. B.

COLONIZATION IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW YORK.

As indicative of the rapidly increasing growth of colonization in our state, and of the general adoption of colonization principles by nearly all classes of our citizens, we should like, did room allow, to give a synopsis of the labors of Mr. Pinney in the western counties, within a short period. In Washington county alone there are eighteen auxiliaries to the county society. Thirteen of these report of their consisting of more than 600 members, with an annual subscription of about eleven hundred dollars.

In Fayette and Green, an exhibition of the like favorable nature will soon be made. Mr. Pinney writes from Uniontown, "Several formerly active members of the abolition society came out to our aid, and among them the president and secretary."

Two expeditions, since the month of May last, have been sent out to Bassa Cove; one from this port, the other from Wilmington, North Carolina. The expenses of the first were in part contributed to by the New York society—the second at the joint cost of the two societies of New York and Pennsylvania.

Within that period, a vessel with emigrants has sailed from Norfolk for Monrovia, under the direction of the American Colonization Society; and another from Baltimore, for Cape Palmas, on the part of the Maryland society; and a third, somewhat earlier, for Sinou, sent by the Mississippi society.

OHIO only requires to be appealed to in order to rival her neighbor Pennsylvania.—*Ibid.*

EMANCIPATION AND COLONIZATION.—The New Orleans Picayune of the 13th inst. says—"We understand that SIX HUNDRED NEGROES, belonging to a gentleman of this city, lately deceased, are to be liberated according to his will, provided they are willing to go to Africa, in which case ample provision is to be made for their transportation."

SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN AFRICA, (NEAR PORT NATAL.)

A Sabbath school for children was commenced soon after our brethren left. Seventy-five attended on the first Sabbath, and from 250 to 300 now regularly attend. This is superintended by Mrs. A., and is held a little after sunrise. I have an adult school at the same hour, of about 250. The children's school is opened by singing a hymn, which is first repeated by one of the boys, and prayer. Then follows an examination upon the subject of the previous Sabbath, and the recitation of hymns and passages of Scripture in English and Zulu. A few passages of Scripture are then read and explained, and the school is closed with singing. The adult school is held under a large tree near our dwelling, and is conducted much in the same manner. In both schools the questions are answered with a good deal of readiness, and in general a very good account is given of what was read and spoken the Sabbath before.—*Sunday School Journal*.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Soc'y from Dec. 20, 1837, to Jan. 20, 1838.

Gerrit Smith's Plan of Subscription.

Nicholas Brown, Providence, his 10th instalment,	- - - -	\$100
George Burwell, Frederick County, Va., his 8th do.	- - - -	100
John Gray, Fredericksburg, his 7th do.	- - - -	100

Collections in Churches, &c.

Belvidere, N. J., Benevolent Association of Presbyterian Church,	- -	30
Figert's Valley, Randolph Co., Va, a collection by Rev. D. H. Coyner, ag't,	45	
Kanawha Presbyterian Church, by	- - do.	15
Lewisburg, Va. from the citizens, by	- - do.	19 50
Morefield, Hardy, Co., Va., from do., by	- - do.	21 40
Rocky Spring, Augusta Co., Va. by	- - do.	5 30
Spring Creek, Presbyterian church, by	- - do.	30 25
Sutherland's Falls, Rutland, Vt., Rev. J. C. Southmayd,	- -	5
West-Rutland, Vermont, Cong. Church, Rev. L. L. Tilden,	- -	5

Donations.

Danville, Kentucky, from an aged friend	- - - -	5
Dedham, Mass., Female Society, for the education of African children, by	- - - -	
Miranda Guild, Sec.	- - - -	50
Granville, Sereno Wright, annual donation	- - - -	10

Auxiliary Societies.

Amherst and Amherst College Col. Society, Luke Sweetson, Tr.	- -	5
North Carolina State Society, D. Dupre, Tr.	- -	15 87
South Hanover, Jefferson Co., Indiana, Col. Society, John M. Young, Tr.	- -	
transmitted by Isaac Coe, Tr. of the Indiana State Society,	- -	45
Virginia State Col. Society, B. Brand, Tr.	- -	150

\$757 32

African Repository.

N. F. Cabell, Warminster, Va., per Richard G. Morris,	- - - -	\$2
Jas. C. Penn., Lovington, Va., do.	- - - -	15
Benj. Welsh, Bladensburg, Md.,	- - - -	16
T. A. Hill, Bangor, Maine,	- - - -	5
James B. Hosmer, Hartford, Connecticut,	- - - -	4
R. C. Reynolds, Groton, N. Y.	- - - -	2
Prof. E. Adams, Hanover, N. H.	- - - -	6

Resolutions of the Board.

The following Resolutions in regard to a distribution of the African Repository and Colonial Journal, have been adopted by the Board of Managers.

Monday, December 22, 1828.

Resolved, That after the 1st of March next, the African Repository shall be sent to all such Clergymen as have this year taken up collections on or about the 4th of July for the Society, and shall be continued to them as long as they shall continue annually to take up collections.

Resolved, That all the subscribers on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. shall be also entitled to the work.

Resolved, That all Life Members of the Society shall, if they request it, be entitled to the work for the period of three years.

Resolved, That every Annual Subscriber to the Society of ten dollars or more, shall also be entitled to the Repository.

Resolved, That the Repository be sent to the Superintendent of each Sunday-School, which may annually take up a collection for the Society."

NOTICE.

It is requested that all collections, donations, or subscriptions to the American Colonization Society, be transmitted by mail, if no private opportunity offers, to JOSEPH GALES, Sen'r. Esq. Treasurer of the Society, Washington City; with whom the collecting Agents of the Society will also correspond. With the collections in the churches, the Society expects to receive the names of the Clergymen of the several congregations in which they were made.

All communications, relating to the general interests of the Society, or the Editorial Department of the Repository, to be directed to R. R. GURLEY, Secretary, Washington.

All communications, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the Repository, to be directed to JAMES C. DUNN, Washington, D. C.

Agents for the African Repository

Travelling Agents.

Rev. Wm. Matchet.

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Rev. Wm. Winans, Centreville.

OHIO,

E. Easton, Cincinnati.

LIBERIA.—Africa.

James Brown, Monrovia.

The African Repository

Can now be had, from its commencement, on application to the Publisher, Washington City, either bound or in numbers; several numbers having been reprinted.

Plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.

This Gentleman has proposed to raise \$100,000, for the Society, in ten years, by securing 100 subscribers, who will pay \$100 annually, during that time. The following have already subscribed.

Gerrit Smith Peterboro' New York,
 Jasper Corning, Charleston, S Carolina,
 Theodore Frelinghuysen, New Ark, N J
 John T Norton, Albany, N Y
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 A gentlemen in Mississippi,
 Matthew Cary, Philadelphia,
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 A Friend in Virginia,
 Rev Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Ms,
 Mrs M H Carrington Mrs Ann Fontaine) \$100 annually by
 Wm A Carrington, P S Carrington,) equal contributions
 Gen Edward Carrington, and Walter C. Carrington.
 A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier county Va.
 Robert Ralston, Philadelphia.
 Elliot Cresson, do
 Robert Gilmor, Baltimore.
 George Burwell, Frederick county Va.
 Association of 20 persons in Rev Dr Meads Parish, Frederick county Va
 Hon Edward M'Gehee, Mississippi.
 Rev Dr James P Thomas, Louisiana.
 Four Young Gentlemen in Alexandria, D. C.
 The Aux Col Society of Georgetown D. C
 A friend in Fredericktown, Md,
 Another Subscription on the plan of Gerret Smith, in Bishop M a
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 John McDonogh, do
 Auxiliary Colonization Society, Wilmington Delaware,
 Hon John Ker, of Louisiana,
 John Linton, do
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 Auxiliary Colonization Society, Hampshire county Massachusetts,
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